

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

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JUNE 24, 1940

G.O.P. Convention Takes The Spotlight

One Thousand Delegates Playing Part in Political Drama at Philadelphia

MEETINGS TO BE TELEVISED

Selection of Presidential Candidate and Drawing Up of Party Platform Are Two Main Tasks

The nation's political interest is centered on the Republican national convention now meeting in Philadelphia. The 1,000 delegates in attendance will soon select the man to represent the Republican party in the race for the presidency next November. In addition, they will decide upon a party platform, thereby letting the country know how the Republicans officially stand on the vital issues of the day.

A great deal hinges upon the decisions taken by the many delegates who have traveled from all over the nation to attend the convention. Their choice of a presidential candidate may determine whether or not the Republican party returns to power this year, thus having an important bearing on the future of the party. The outcome of the convention may also do much toward influencing the policies of our country at one of the most critical stages in its history.

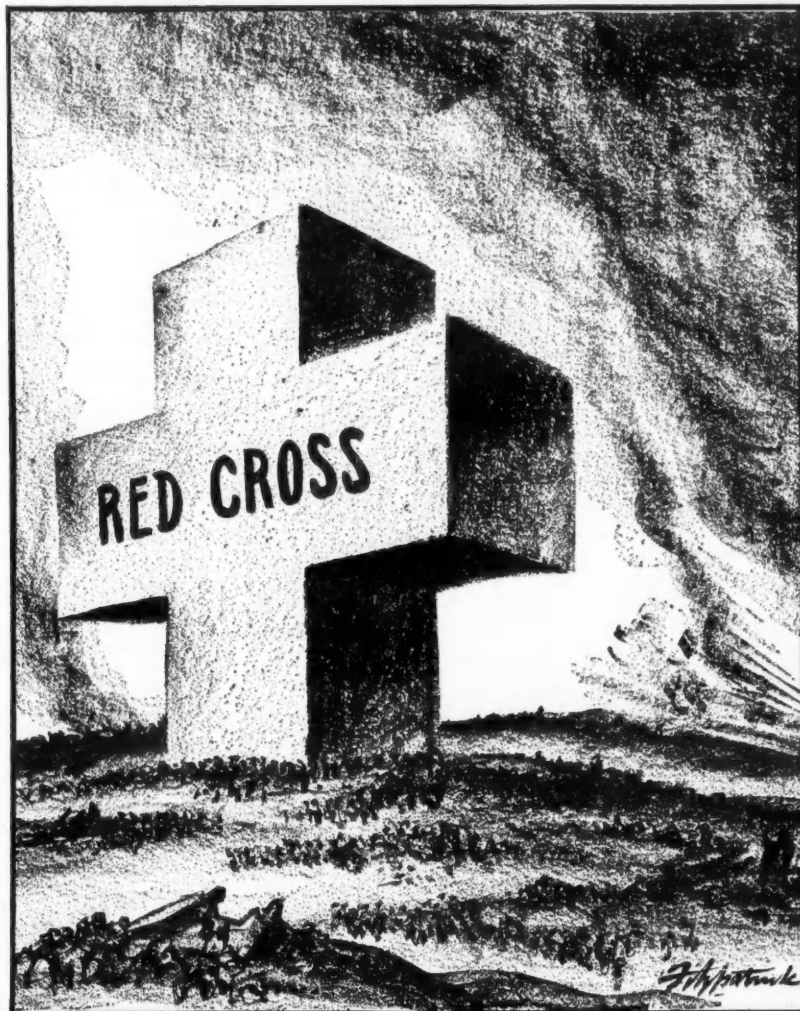
Convention Televised

It is for these reasons that the American people are expected to keep in unusually close touch with the convention. Most of them will depend upon newspapers and the radio to keep them constantly informed of the decisions which are made by the Republican delegates, but about 45,000 people will be able not only to hear the proceedings but also to see them. For the first time, television will "cover" a national political convention. People who own receiving sets in six eastern states will be able to sit in their living rooms and see what is going on as well as if they were at the convention. They will be even closer to the platform speakers than most of the delegates at the convention. It is interesting to note that just 16 years after the first radio broadcast of a political convention comes a similar debut of television.

When the Philadelphia meeting opened today, the delegates first began to dispose of purely routine matters. The convention was called to order by the present national chairman, Joseph W. Martin, Republican minority leader in the House of Representatives. The delegates then approved the temporary officers who had been appointed by the national committee at a preliminary meeting. Governor Stassen of Minnesota was chosen temporary chairman. He is to deliver the "keynote" speech. This address, which is always made at both the Republican and Democratic conventions, is not usually of any great importance. It is a reiteration of the achievements of the party, coupled with a scathing denunciation of the other party.

Following the "keynote" speech comes a roll call of the delegations from the states and territories. After that procedure is out of the way, the four important committees—on credentials, on permanent organization, on rules and order of business, and on resolutions—will be formed. The credentials committee makes decisions on all contested seats. Any disputes that might arise among the delegates in select-

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DON'T FORGET THE INNOCENT VICTIMS

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Belated Patriotism

By WALTER E. MYER

Since the war first broke out in Europe, there have been countless evidences of mass patriotism in each of the fighting countries. Men and women have toiled together, fought together, and died together for a common cause. They have endured almost intolerable hardships, grief, and misery without complaint. No sacrifice has been too great, no burden too heavy, for these masses of people who are battling for their very existence.

In Germany, this brand of patriotism is nothing new. The people of that nation, ever since Hitler came into power, have been forced to give every ounce of their energy and to make every possible sacrifice for the might and glory of their Fatherland. No German, unless he was ready to bear the unhappy consequences, could refuse to participate wholeheartedly in this gigantic national effort to achieve military supremacy.

In France and England, the situation was quite different in the years preceding the war. A great many of the people in those countries, it is true, were patriotic and were willing to make personal sacrifices and concessions in order to safeguard their homes and their lands against the growing threat of the totalitarian nations. But too many were not. Too many pursued their selfish aims and pursuits, heedless of the national welfare. There were bitter conflicts between labor and capital and between opposing political factions. These quarrels and antagonisms had a definite weakening influence on these nations and on their ability to prepare for the grave and critical days which have now overtaken them.

We in America do not want to make this same mistake. While clinging tenaciously to our basic liberties, we should strive for national unity. Our political leaders should bend every effort to agree upon and pursue certain broad national objectives and then, regardless of their differences on other matters, let nothing deter them from carrying out these objectives. Labor and capital should leave no stone unturned to work in harmony. Other groups of the population should adopt a similar course.

Above all else, we do not want to fall into the totalitarian scheme of things by allowing our government to force patriotism and cooperation upon us. That would be acknowledging the superior efficiency of totalitarianism and yielding to it. That would be an abhorrent course for believers in democracy who rightfully scoff at the idea that the totalitarian system is superior to the democratic. Free peoples, when properly stirred and voluntarily organized for action, possess a vitality and abounding source of strength not to be found among suppressed masses. Unless democratic peoples do submerge their lesser conflicts, however, and unless they work together unselfishly and untiringly at the task of preparing themselves in a time of great crisis, they run the risk of meeting the same fate which has befallen the French and which may soon overcome the British.

U. S. Faces Pressing Caribbean Problems

Developments in Europe Arouse Concern Over Fate of Allied Possessions in Americas

EUROPEAN HOLDINGS LARGE

British, French, Dutch Now Control 200,000 Square Miles, and Nearly 3,500,000 Caribbean Peoples

The time when the United States will no longer be able to put off vital decisions concerning the Caribbean seems to be drawing near. Now that France has been obliged to withdraw from the war, the possessions of two European nations in the Western Hemisphere have come under the shadow of Germany. The island and mainland possessions of the Netherlands and France in the Western Hemisphere, small though they may appear on the map, have become large and pressing problems for the United States.

There is not much doubt as to what this country will do if Germany makes a move to acquire those islands. By a vote of 78 to 0 the Senate has passed a resolution which reaffirms the Monroe Doctrine by declaring that the United States will not recognize change of title from one European power to another of "any geographic region in the Western Hemisphere." If an attempt is made to effect any such change, the United States, with or without the cooperation of Latin-American nations, will undoubtedly march into Caribbean lands. Secretary of State Hull has already bluntly warned the European dictators that the United States will not permit them to take over any Caribbean lands.

The Caribbean

During the years of peace we Americans have been inclined to regard the Caribbean area as a playground, and not without reason. The many semitropical and tropical islands between Bermuda and the north coast of South America afford a warm climate in winter and an attractive background, with their much-publicized wide beaches, the intense blue of sky and sea, with rows of royal palms rustling in the wind, or long plumes of gray smoke from inland backfires drifting across cane fields of pale green. We know the West Indian islands as producers of sponges, bananas, rum, sugar, cocoa, cotton, and fruit. To readers of pirate lore and tales of the Spanish Main such names as Barbados, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Trinidad cannot fail to carry with them a familiar and romantic ring.

But in the hydrographic offices in Washington and other capitals, where each reef, channel, harbor, and shoal of the West Indies is carefully charted, the Caribbean area is studied from an entirely different angle. The calculating eyes of the naval strategists, for example, see a strategic area of great importance in that long string of large and small islands which stretches from the western tip of Cuba 1,800 miles southeast to Barbados, and then curves in toward the South American coast like a huge fishhook.

The islands making up this "fishhook archipelago" of the West Indies are generally divided into two main groups. To the west and north—along the stem of the hook, lie the Greater Antilles, consisting chiefly of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (which contains Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Puerto Rico. The long curve of

(Concluded on page 3)

Vivid Picture of Europe Between Two Wars Drawn by Walter Millis

WHEN the historians of the future set down the record of our times, they will look upon the 21 years which elapsed between the fall of 1918 and the fall of 1939 as a brief—pitifully brief—interlude between two great wars. How will they appraise that period? Will they look upon it as a time during which the democracies, having won the war, threw away the fruits of victory and lost a great opportunity to place Europe on a stable basis? Or will they place an “inevitable” interpretation on events, declaring that the World War marked the beginning of the end of an era, and that postwar efforts to patch up the European structure could not have done more than postpone the final downfall which came with the second outbreak of hostilities?

It is much too early to pass judgment on such questions, but it is not too early to begin examining the complex forces and events which led to the outbreak of a second great war in Europe only 21 years after the termination of the first. Indeed, there is a vital and pressing necessity to read the history of those years, for if there is anything to be learned from the failures of the European democracies, it may need to be learned quickly. If they have made mistakes, other nations which desire to keep their democracy cannot afford to make the same mistakes.

Fortunately, the record is there to be read. It is written down clearly, factually, and with remarkable objectivity in a book which makes its timely appearance just as the walls of European democracy are trembling under the shattering blows of Adolf

the result is a brilliant picture of Europe between two wars. The reader is left to draw his own conclusions, to decide for himself the questions of moral justification.

The book begins where it should, at the signing of the last peace in the palace of Versailles. It was, as we know, wholly a dictated peace; when the day for the signing came, the two uneasy German delegates were brought into the Hall of Mirrors, made to affix their signatures, and then were promptly hustled out of the same side door through which they came.

The peace of Versailles was a hard peace, but in many ways it was not an unjust peace. It attempted to lay the basis of a new Europe on principles of self-determination for the peoples of the continent. It was unrealistic in the reparations it laid upon Germany, and it overlooked the economic consequences which would result from the multiplication of political boundaries. But it did make a framework, and it provided—through the League of Nations—a method by which the framework could be adjusted to meet future needs.

Mr. Millis divides the history of Europe after Versailles into fairly definite periods. The first was one of reconstruction. It was a time of strain and upheaval during which the nations struggled to adjust themselves to the new situation. Countries were threatened by inflation and revolution. In Italy the first seeds of fascism sprouted in the rise of Mussolini to power. In Germany an obscure Austrian became member number 7 of an almost equally obscure National Socialist Workers Party. These two movements, destined to have such far-reaching effects, were born out of the distress of war-torn Europe.

The turmoil subsided and Europe began to settle down. German currency became stabilized and the Dawes Plan set the amount of reparations which Germany could pay each year. The wounds of the war seemed to be healing under the statesmanship of France's Briand and Germany's Stresemann who negotiated the Locarno pacts which guaranteed the frontiers of western Europe and paved the way for Germany's entry into the League of Nations.

The second five years, from 1925 to 1930, were years of tranquillity and promise for Europe. They were years during which “the spirit of Locarno” prevailed, when the League of Nations gave promise of functioning, and when the nations seemed to be marching together toward greater prosperity and happiness. So it seemed, at least. No one realized that the structure was precarious and that it was being supported by American loans to European countries.

In late 1929 depression came to America, and the loans stopped. The years following were years of panic and confusion, of crisis governments, and of disturbances which again brought the threat of revolution. The Hoover moratorium on inter-governmental debts tried to stem the tide of deflation but could not. The unsound economic and financial structure of Europe was laid bare.

In 1933, Hitler came into power over Germany and ushered in the final period—the period in which we are most interested. At this stage “Why Europe Fights” becomes absorbing. In giving an account of the events which developed swiftly between 1933 and 1939, Mr. Millis shows, all too clearly, how the dictators outwitted the democracies at every turn. Mussolini wanted to invade Ethiopia. He was not stopped, and the authority of the League of Nations was irreparably damaged. Hitler declared Germany's rearmament, marched into the demilitarized Rhineland, and then began his campaign to conquer smaller nations, while Great Britain and France stood by, watched, and did nothing. The dictators never made the mistakes. The democracies always lost. Europe drifted toward the war which everyone foresaw but no one wanted.



WALTER MILLIS

Hitler's military machine. The book is “Why Europe Fights,” by Walter Millis (New York: William Morrow and Company. \$2.50).

Mr. Millis does not pretend to have the key which unlocks the explanation of why Europe is fighting. He modestly claims that he offers no contribution to history, and that the material he presents is not new. His book, however, has the great virtue of bringing the events of recent European history together. He takes the pieces, fits them into a pattern to make a whole, and

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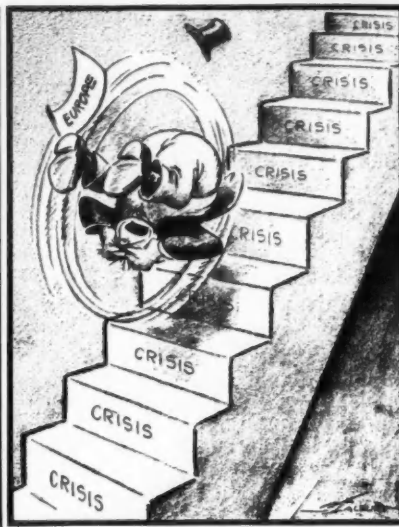
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"NICE DOGGIES"
DONAHEY IN CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER
HOW AMERICAN CARTOONISTS VIEWED THE POSTWAR YEARS



WHAT IS THIS—PERPETUAL MOTION?
TALBUT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

What the Magazines Say

IN the June number of *Living Age*, Anibal Jara, the Chilean consul-general, declares that the time has come for a new political system in Latin America. The idea of Pan-Americanism, of 21 independent nations working together for the common good of the Western Hemisphere, is outmoded and does not suit the needs of today. Pan-Americanism, the author asserts, was never something concrete and effective. “It was born with a sentimental sense when it should have been founded in a positive economic reality. Political and economic ties are not made with adjectives nor with phrases but with the tangible and concrete realities of good business, reciprocal benefits and profits, of mutual commercial satisfactions.”

The main obstacle to effective economic cooperation between the United States and Latin America, in the opinion of Mr. Jara, has been the fact that individually the nations of Latin America have been too small to develop their resources effectively. Consequently, they have served only as a sort of colonial outpost for whatever goods the United States happened to need but did not produce for itself. This has retarded the development of the Latin-American nations and at the same time has restricted the markets available to the United States for its own manufacturing industries.

What is needed to stimulate the growth of the southern continent is a union of all Latin-American nations, a political and economic union that will pool their combined resources. Under such a union it will be possible to build a modern system of transportation. It will be possible to exploit resources that are not now economically justifiable. It will enable Latin America to enter into a genuine cooperation with the United States on the basis of equality.

George W. Alger, writing in the June *Atlantic Monthly*, asserts that the day has arrived for the United States to take stock of its labor problem, with a view to establishing the position of labor upon some stable and permanent basis. During the past few years, he declares, more has happened in our country in labor relationships in industry than during all its previous history. Labor spies, company police, antiunion coercion, strikebreaking—these have all been outlawed. Collective bargaining is here, and here to stay.

But collective bargaining, Mr. Alger argues, is not enough. It does not give assurance of industrial peace and of harmony between labor and capital.

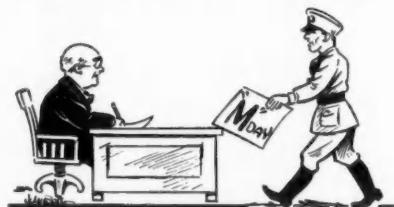
The task that confronts the United States now, in the writer's opinion, goes far beyond guaranteeing labor the right to bargain collectively. It extends to other objectives: the elimination of civil war between unions, the creation of boards of mediation that can compromise disputes between capital and labor and thus prevent wasteful strikes. Mr. Alger points to the

confusion currently existing in labor relations. The National Labor Relations Board has determined that a certain union should constitute the appropriate bargaining unit for a business firm. A minority of the employees, however, dissatisfied with the Labor Board's decision, decide to strike and picket the establishment. What is the employer to do? He has complied with the Board's decision, yet finds himself immediately faced with another dispute. Mr. Alger believes that legislation should be enacted to prevent this type of conflict between unions. Such warfare is injurious not only to industry but to labor as well.

The July issue of *Harpers* features a timely article by Leo M. Cherne called “M-Day and the Business Man.” From what Mr. Cherne writes, one gathers that no stone has been left unturned by those who designed the plans for wartime mobilization of the United States. It will be of interest to businessmen to know that they will be mere cogs in a vast militarized industrial machine, in which supplies, transportation, labor, communications, and capital will be rigidly controlled by the government.

Girls and women will be called into service to fill the jobs left by men whom the government needs elsewhere in industry or in the army itself. They will operate the elevators, clerk in the stores, run factory machines, and fill hundreds of positions in offices, banks, and business establishments which men now occupy.

As for the men, they will report to the nearest recruiting office when the draft ma-



chinery rolls into action. Probably those between the ages of 21 to 31, Mr. Cherne writes, will come first. Later, if more men are needed, those between 31 and 45 must report. The men are classified according to their vocations, their family ties, and their health. A man in sound health, with no dependents, who is not needed in an essential job, is taken immediately into service.

His time is deferred until somewhat later, however, if his skills are needed by the nation in his job. Those who have dependents are put in the next group, while everyone else—the physically unfit, aliens, and federal and state officials—are in the last group. Supplying other details about life after M-Day, Mr. Cherne concludes that “all life, all business enterprise, all economic functions, all normal incentives of a peacetime economy will on M-Day be forced into the mold of a wartime economy.”

The U. S. Faces Vital Decisions Concerning Future of Caribbean

(Concluded from page 1)

the hook, to the east, consists of many smaller islands known as the Lesser Antilles. These, in turn, are divided into the Leeward Islands, to the north, and the Windward Islands, directly adjacent to the coast of South America. Taken as a whole, this extended, curving chain of islands separates the Atlantic from the Caribbean.

Although it lay there countless centuries before engineers first began to blast the great canal through the Isthmus of Panama, the importance of the West Indies island chain today lies in its relation to the Panama Canal. It can serve two purposes. From an American point of view, it can serve as a barrier protecting the canal. To a strong, hostile foreign power, it offers a series of potential bases from which operations might be conducted against the canal. It is with this in mind that Washington officials are now considering the Caribbean area, and the foreign possessions therein.

The European possessions in the Caribbean region belong exclusively to three powers now technically at war with Germany — Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands, in the order of their importance. Their territories in this region are impressively large. Taken altogether, they cover an area nearly as large as France.



MARKET SCENE IN MARTINIQUE, FRENCH WEST INDIES

They contain 3,458,800 peoples—several thousand whites of European origins, a very large number of Negroes and mulattoes, a few hundred thousand Hindus, and sizable groups of Javanese, Siamese, Chinese, and Indians, the Asiatic elements having been imported for the purpose of obtaining coolie plantation labor. It is a strange political, racial, and geographic hodgepodge that we find on our front doorstep.

British and French Holdings

The most important foreign possessions in the Caribbean region are those belonging to Britain. If Bermuda is included, and it usually is, the British possessions begin some 650 miles from the Virginia capes. They take up again in the Bahamas, off Florida, and sweep off to the east, north of Cuba and Hispaniola. They are resumed again in the Lesser Antilles, where British islands are intermingled with Dutch and French. Then, in addition, there is Jamaica, south of Cuba; the asphalt-producing island of Trinidad, off the coast of Venezuela, British Guiana, east of Venezuela on the continent of South America, and British Honduras between Mexico and Guatemala.

In all, British Caribbean possessions cover 110,596 square miles (an area larger than that of Nevada), and contain 2,595,000 people. They are grouped politically as eight different colonies, and governed by 16 separate legislatures.

Second in importance are the French possessions which are limited to the Lesser Antilles, at the eastern end of the fish-hook, and to French Guiana on the coast of South America, the latter being used chiefly as a penal colony. French possessions amount to about a third of the British in area, and about a quarter in population. Besides French Guiana, the chief colonies are the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. All three are administered

by governors sent from France, but also enjoy direct representation in the French parliament. Their exports, consisting chiefly of gold, sugar, rum, and bananas, go almost exclusively to France.

Dutch Possessions

Dutch holdings in the Western Hemisphere consist of Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, an important source of bauxite on the continent between British and French Guiana; a few unimportant islands in the Lesser Antilles; and the two very important islands of Curacao and Aruba, off the coast of Venezuela only 750 miles from the Panama Canal. Although the islands are not naturally wealthy, they contain the three huge oil refineries which handle three-quarters of the crude oil produced in Venezuela, and furnish Britain with the source of 38 per cent of her petroleum imports—the largest single source to which the British have access. The American-owned Standard Oil refinery on Aruba is the largest refinery in the world, with the British-owned Royal-Dutch Shell plant on Curacao running a close second. Between them, these two plants can handle nearly 500,000 barrels each day.

Acting in agreement with the Dutch government-in-exile, British and French troops moved into Curacao and Aruba and established garrisons on the islands. Pending the outcome of the war, their status is in doubt. But difficult problems, it will be seen, are already arising. So long as these regions remain in the hands of independent, friendly powers, the United States feels no menace to its Caribbean position. But in the hands of an unfriendly, or potentially unfriendly power, the situation would be reversed. The growing possibility that such a development may take place is causing officials in Washington to devote special attention to our entire Caribbean policy.

It should be noted that the United States already dominates much of the Caribbean areas. This is in part the result of a policy adopted as far back as 1865, when Secretary of State Seward began to negotiate with Denmark for the purchase of the Virgin Islands, east of Puerto Rico. At that time there were five powers entrenched in that area—Spain, England, France, Holland, and Denmark. Spain was eliminated by the Spanish-American War in 1898, which resulted in the temporary American occupation of Cuba, and the purchase of Puerto Rico, which came into American hands along with the Philippines for \$20,000,000. In 1904 we acquired the Canal Zone from Panama and 13 years



THE OLD DUTCH CITY OF CURACAO, NETHERLANDS WEST INDIES



THE CARIBBEAN AREA
(Courtesy U. S. News. (c) United States News Publishing Corporation.)

later succeeded in eliminating Denmark entirely when we purchased the Virgin Islands. This left only France, Britain, and the Netherlands, plus a number of independent republics.

Concerning the independent republics, our policy is not quite clear. For some years we exercised a measure of control over them by the threat of armed intervention, a threat carried into effect in Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and in three out of five Central American republics (Mexico, Panama, and Nicaragua) between 1900 and 1930. It was only 11 years ago that Parker Thomas Moon, an authority on the Caribbean, could write without fear of serious contradiction that Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Panama (a total area larger than California, which contained 9,000,000 people) were virtually wards of the United States. It was only seven years ago that Congress abandoned this policy in ratifying a declaration of the Pan-American convention to the effect that "no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another."

U. S. Influence

In spite of this congressional declaration, however, it is generally recognized that the United States influences the foreign—if not the domestic—policies of the Caribbean republics in a purely negative way. Each of the republics understands, that is, that the adoption of a policy hostile to the United States, or over-friendly toward foreign powers hostile to the United States might, if carried to extremes, invite re-establishment of the active intervention policies formerly followed. Thus, in one way or another, by direct ownership, or by our power to intervene if necessary, we already control a good part of the Caribbean.

In particular, the United States is in a position to block the four most important entrances to that sea, and to the Panama

Canal from the east. The nearest, the Straits of Florida, are dominated from the mainland. The most important, Windward Passage, between eastern Cuba and Haiti (on the island of Hispaniola) we dominate by means of the big leased naval base at Guantanamo Bay, in Cuba. Second in importance is Mona Passage, between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. The power to command this passage is growing with the strengthening of the American base at San Juan, Puerto Rico. Another approach to the canal is through Anegada Passage, between the United States owned Virgin Islands, and British, French, and Dutch territories in the Leewards.

Such is the situation at present. But it should also be noted that each one of those important passages might also be commanded, or threatened, or neutralized, by a hostile power in possession of islands now owned by Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands.

These, in brief, are the considerations which are causing some deep thought in the marble corridors of Washington government buildings. There are some who believe the American government should already have taken steps to secure control of these islands, by purchase, negotiation, or even by force. But there are reasons why we should be reluctant to act except in the case of extreme necessity. In the first place, the islands are not profitable. Our Virgin Islands have turned out to be as poor as church mice from a strictly commercial point of view. On Puerto Rico alone the United States has had to spend the sum of \$159,500,000 from 1933 to 1940. Although the report has never been made public, it is understood that the Royal Commission of Inquiry, which investigated the British West Indies during the past two years, has informed the British government that large cash outlays will be necessary in the near future if that region is to be put on a sound economic footing. General social and economic conditions are poor.

Panama Pledge

In the second place, occupation or annexation of any British, Dutch, or French possession in the Caribbean area would violate one of the provisions of the Declaration of Panama, which was adopted last October by the 21 republics. Part of this provision declares that

in case any geographic region of America subject to the jurisdiction of any non-American state should be obliged to change its sovereignty and there should result therefrom a danger to the security of the American continent, a consultative meeting . . . will be convoked with the urgency that the case may require.

This, of course, points to a possible course of action. It has been suggested that these possessions might be mandated to the Pan-American Conference, in the event any change in sovereignty should occur, but one authoritative source has expressed the view that in such an event "the United States would probably act first and confer afterwards."



THE WAR DEPARTMENT EXPANDS

A few of the thousands of applicants for jobs in the War Department. It is expected that this branch of the federal government will grow rapidly during coming months.

HARRIS AND EWING

DOMESTIC

On All Fronts

The crumbling of French resistance to the German army has quickened the pace of America's defensive preparations. On all fronts, Congress, industry, and the White House have intensified their efforts to push the preparedness program which has been underway since May 10. Foreseeing the possible quick development of a situation by which the Germans might acquire either or both of the French and British fleets, the administration is rushing new measures to meet the situation.

The highlights of last week were:

1. To forestall economic penetration of Latin America by Germany, President Roosevelt submitted a plan for joining North and South America into a huge trading unit. As outlined by the President, the venture would be financed and dominated by the United States. It would create a corporation which would have complete control over all imports and exports of the Western Hemisphere. On matters of foreign trade, the rest of the world would have to deal with this corporation, rather than with the individual countries of North and South America.

If necessary, the corporation would resort to barter methods in trading—a system frequently employed by Germany. If no outlets for the products could be found, they would be absorbed within the hemisphere, even if it meant a loss to the United States. In addition to the trading plan, a proposal for linking the two continents on a military basis is also said to be in the making.

2. The Senate unanimously passed a resolution which declared that the United States will refuse to recognize any transfer of control over territory in the Western Hemisphere from one non-American power to another (see page 1). There was little doubt that the House would take similar action.

3. It was announced that war materials ordered in this country by France will be purchased by Great Britain. There will probably be no letup in the shipment of supplies to the English armies—if anything, the pace will be quickened.

4. President Roosevelt announced a forthcoming plan for universal government training—an answer to recent demands for compulsory military service. Although omitting the ages to be included, he indicated that the plan would affect every young man, regardless of economic class. Four types of training will be given: (1) for combat service; (2) for work as aviation mechanics and duties in supply lines; (3) for jobs in clothing, airplane, ammunition, and other key industries; and (4) for conservation work on the domestic front. Other details of the plan will be announced when it is submitted to Congress. The President also said that there is a possibility of providing some kind of training program for young women.

5. The dangers to which the United States would be exposed if the British and French fleets should succumb under German blows

have reopened consideration of a two-ocean navy in Congress. Speaking for the Navy Department, Admiral Harold Stark recommended that the nation should undertake a \$4,000,000,000 naval building program. This would be in addition to the measure providing \$1,308,171,000, which the President recently signed, and also to all other existing naval construction. If adopted, the measure



BIG GUNS

John D. M. Hamilton (left) chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Franklyn Waltman, Republican chief of publicity, who are having a great deal to do with the shaping of the Republican campaign.

will give the United States the largest navy in the world.

FDR Today

After seven years in the White House, Franklin Delano Roosevelt is in the midst of responsibilities and burdens imposed by the most trying times the world has ever known. Across his desk pass a stream of cables, letters, reports, and documents which require his attention. Industrialists, labor leaders, congressmen, government officials, and army and navy officers are among those attending the many conferences in his office.

In reply to questions about the President's ability to withstand worry and strain, Miss Marguerite LeHand, his private secretary, recently told newspapermen that Roosevelt "still keeps his good humor, but he is quieter. When he is troubled, he is quiet for long periods of time." She went on to say, "The President is working much longer hours. He used to swim in the White House pool every day, but now it's cut down to three times a week."

"He would like to go to Hyde Park, but he has to stay close to base. He does get away for an occasional cruise down the Potomac, but in one case, when he had planned to stay away until bedtime Sunday evening, he told Captain Callahan to turn back early, so he could get some work done."

"The cruises refresh him remarkably. After a hard week, if he can get a single night's rest on the water—a good long rest—he comes back looking like a new man. As long as

The Week at Ho

What the People of the World Are

he has this capacity for a quick comeback, there seems to be no limit to his endurance. He works later in the evenings now, with bedtime more often at midnight, where it used to be eleven o'clock."

"Aid the Allies"

Among the groups organized as a result of the war, none has grown so rapidly as the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Proposed and founded by William Allen White, the famous Kansas editor, it immediately attracted the support of hundreds of prominent men and women. When the last count was made, there were 125 chapters in 85 cities and towns, where 20,000 petitions had drawn an estimated one million signatures. These strides were made in about a month's time.

The committee wants the United States to aid the Allied cause by releasing all the military equipment it can spare; by clamping down on the export of war materials to aggressor nations; by appropriating \$100,000,000 for the purchase of food and clothing for refugees in Belgium, Holland, and France; and by acting in any other ways which would be of help, short of declaring war.

A nation-wide appeal was made by the committee recently when it published full-page advertisements, headlined "Stop Hitler Now!" in leading newspapers all over the country. Robert E. Sherwood, well-known playwright, whose successes include "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" and "There Shall Be No Night," wrote the text of the advertisement, which advanced the reasons for the committee's stand. The day after the advertisement appeared, President Roosevelt gave it his complete endorsement. Financed by contributions, the committee urges its followers to carry the appeal for its program to their congressmen.

American Granary

As we reported last week, there are grave fears that famine lies ahead in Europe. The worst suffering may not come for some months, but there are ever-growing signs that hunger and starvation will be added to the burdens of war-torn populations. Fields have been destroyed by battles, or lie untilled because men are away at the front. Animals are being slaughtered at a high rate. And swarms of refugees rove from places of danger to regions which afford temporary security, adding a strain on the food supplies of the places which offer shelter.

In the face of the mounting troubles abroad, the Department of Agriculture reports that the United States has a "full granary" of grains, meat, fruits, and vegetables, sufficient to meet both our needs and Europe's, and to provide an ample reserve for the future. In fact, agricultural surpluses have created many problems here in

recent years, indicating that this nation's farms are equipped to supply even more food if the need arises. Moreover, the war has cut off many of our present export markets, and stores of food which formerly would have been shipped abroad await consumption.

Congress has been taking the necessary steps to approve President Roosevelt's request for \$50,000,000, to be used for the purchase of surplus food supplies for European refugees. It is generally believed that this sum is only a beginning toward a program of throwing some of our agricultural resources into action against the looming specter of famine.

Price of Glasses

The price of eyeglasses is the subject of a controversy between the government and the

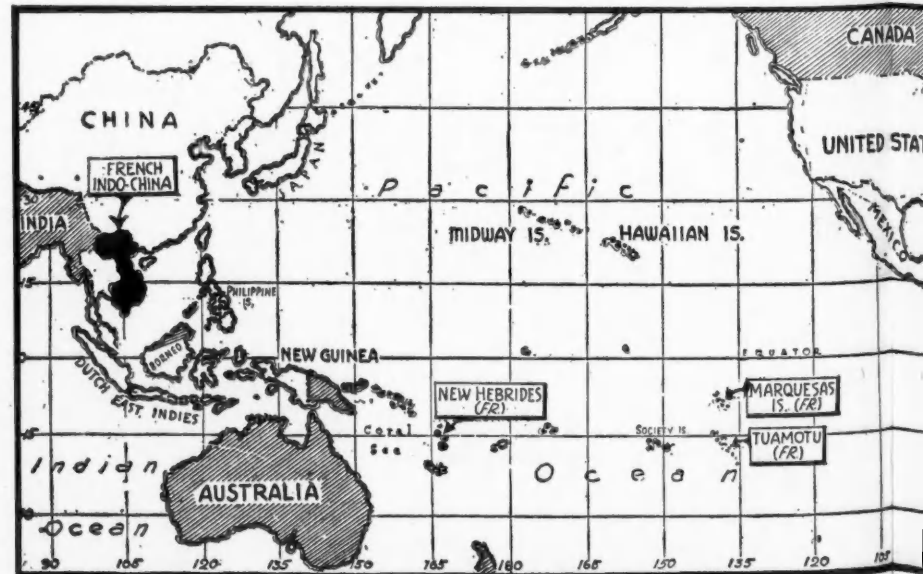


NOT FORGOTTEN

MESSNER IN ROCHESTER (N. Y.) TIMES-UNION

manufacturers of optical goods. Acting under the antitrust laws, the Department of Justice has charged that manufacturers and distributors who handle about 95 per cent of the lenses in this country are fixing the prices of their goods. According to the government's case, the prices of lenses and frames are held up by agreements among the manufacturers. Consequently, it is pointed out, glasses worth about \$7.50 are selling for \$20.

In defense, the companies argue that the high grade of glass required in the manufacture of spectacles and the painstaking skill demanded in lens-grinding account for a large part of the costs. Moreover, it is said, any attempt to cut expenses at these points would have harmful effects on the eyes of those persons who might wear cheaply made glasses. Altogether, it is argued, the process of examining eyes, and of prescribing and fitting corrective glasses is such that many



THE FRENCH EMPIRE, SECOND ONLY IN SIZE TO THAT OF BRITAIN

Home and Abroad

Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking

professional and manufacturing skills must be brought into play—all at some expense. Before the case reaches a final decision in the federal courts, both these arguments and the contentions of the government will be placed on the record.

FOREIGN

Britain Alone

The inability of France to continue the battle against Germany has left Britain to fight alone. As we go to press it is not known whether France's surrender will be complete, or whether French naval and air forces oper-



STORM SHUTTERS
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

ating from colonial bases will keep up the struggle in behalf of the conquered motherland. Under the leadership of Marshal Pétain, who succeeded Paul Reynaud as premier when M. Reynaud would not yield to his cabinet's demands that France give in, discussions looking to the conclusion of an armistice are in progress.

The loss of France is an event of the utmost seriousness for Britain, despite Prime Minister Churchill's reassuring words that the British are in a good position to continue the war. If it turns out that the French navy has been lost to Germany, Britain will be at a great disadvantage in the Mediterranean, and more vulnerable to attack on her own islands. Many observers believe that she will soon be obliged to sue for peace.

The British, realizing the extent of their difficulties, have shown no signs of weakening. They are steeling themselves for the

ordeal which they know is about to be thrust upon them, and are resolved to hold off the invader and fight through to final victory.

Prizes of War?

France's Colonial Empire

The French empire, second only to that of Great Britain in size and importance, is scattered over a far-flung area extending to continents and seas in all parts of the world. Twenty times larger than the mother country, this empire, with its population of 65,000,000 people, has been the source of great wealth and power for France.

In north, central, and west Africa are Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, from which wines, minerals, animal products, grains, and other farm products are imported; French Equatorial Africa, Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, French Sudan, Mauritania, Niger, and Dakar produce timber, oils, ivory, gold and other metals, fruits, ground nuts, cocoa, coffee, gum, and cotton.

In northern South America is undeveloped French Guiana. In the Far East is French Indo-China with its large resources of rice, rubber, fish, coal, cattle, corn, pepper, zinc, and tin ore. Spread out over the seas are hundreds of islands—Corsica in the Mediterranean, Martinique in the West Indies, Madagascar in the southeast Africa, Tahiti in the South Pacific, to name a few—which are the source of countless tropical and semitropical products.

There are not many raw materials needed by an industrial nation which cannot be found in the colonial empire which France has built up over a long period of years.

The French Navy

France has ranked only fourth among the world's naval powers—after Great Britain, the United States, and Japan—but her navy has been the second largest in Europe and more powerful than that of her greatest maritime rival, Italy. The French fleet boasts of seven capital ships, two of which, the *Dunkerque* and *Strasbourg*, are speedy modern vessels; one aircraft carrier, seven modern heavy cruisers, 12 lighter cruisers capable of making 40 knots, 59 destroyers and 78 submarines. Some of these ships, no doubt, have been lost during recent naval engagements, but on the whole the French fleet is reported to have suffered less damage than the British and German fleets, and to be fairly intact.

Russia Moves Again

Germany's smashing drive through western Europe has renewed and intensified the fears of Russia. Although loosely allied to Germany, Russia knows that Hitler will not hesitate to turn east and take the Ukraine once he



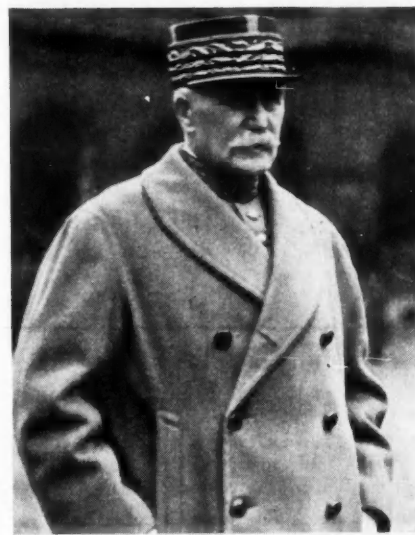
NEWS OF THE DAY NEWSREEL FROM INT'L NEWS

WAYSIDE SCENE IN FRANCE

The slender French roads which used to wind through pleasant fields and villages have been turned into streams of human suffering, as refugees stumble along seeking food and shelter, and not knowing where they shall find them.

has protected his western flank by defeating France and Britain. Desire for the Ukraine was one of Hitler's earliest announced ambitions and no one supposes that he has abandoned it for good, least of all Stalin.

Russia, therefore, has taken every opportunity to move forward defensively since the war began on September 1. She has con-



WIDE WORLD

IN FRANCE'S LAST HOUR

Marshal Henri Pétain, 84-year-old hero of Verdun in the World War, took over the reins of the French government and asked for Germany's terms of surrender.

sistently sought to gain territory which would afford her better protection against any possible German attack in the future. When Poland's power to resist was broken, Russian troops crossed the Polish border and occupied eastern Poland. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—small nations guarding the Baltic coast—were forced to yield naval and military bases to Russia. Similar demands were made on Finland and led to the Russo-Finnish war when that nation resisted.

A few days ago the Russian bear stalked forward again. When it became clear that Germany had beaten France, the Soviet government immediately sent ultimatums to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia demanding the admittance of Russian troops. Invasion quickly followed and those nations became, in effect, parts of Soviet Russia. There were indications that new demands might shortly be served on Finland.

Germany, according to reports, is not pleased over this new Soviet advance, but being occupied in western Europe can do nothing about it; the Russians must be left to be dealt with later. Against that day Stalin is feverishly preparing.

Prophecy

On the last day of June 1936, the Assembly of the League of Nations met in Geneva. It had gathered for the dismal and shameful purpose of bringing to an end the program of economic sanctions (partial trade embargoes) which had been declared against Italy in a half-hearted effort to force that nation to abandon its war of aggression on

Ethiopia. The program had failed because the British, the French, and other League members had been unwilling to apply it with necessary vigor. By their unwillingness to take proper action they had not only brought the collapse of Ethiopia but had destroyed the effectiveness of the League as a peace-preserving organization. They had knocked down the first barrier in the path of the dictators.

Walter Millis in "Why Europe Fights" (see page 2) describes the meeting which took place at Geneva as the delegates met to bury the sanctions program—and the League along with it: "The proceedings were hurried. But there was one speaker at the gathering to whom the world listened. He was Haile Selassie, the deposed emperor of a barbarian state, but a man of dignity and self-control, who now spoke with great and impressive earnestness:

"I pray to Almighty God that he shall spare to the nations the terrible sufferings that have just been inflicted upon my people. . . . It is international morality that is at stake. . . . Should it happen that a strong government finds that it may with impunity destroy a small people, then the hour strikes for that weak people to appeal to the League to give its judgment in all freedom. God and history will remember your judgment."

"The delegates of the great powers fidgeted in their seats and of course paid no attention to the appeal. None had paid attention to an earlier appeal of the emperor's, which he had sent from Addis Ababa in the last days:

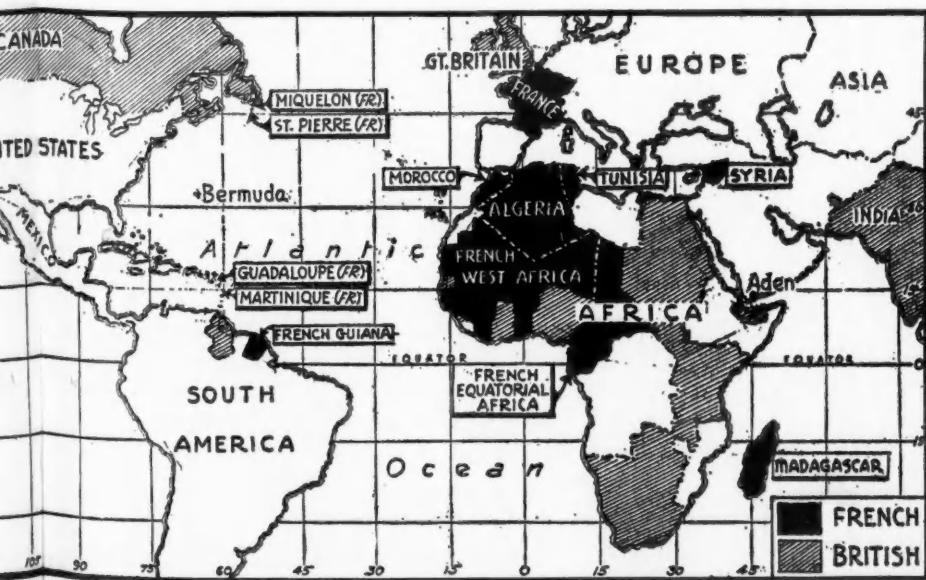
"Do the peoples of the world not yet realize that by fighting on until the bitter end I am . . . standing guard in the last citadel of collective security? . . . I must still hold on until my tardy allies appear. If they never come, then I say prophetically and without bitterness: The West will perish."

The solemn words uttered by Haile Selassie in the closing hours of his nation's life were not taken seriously by the delegates to the League at Geneva or by government leaders in European capitals. But today we know that his words may prove to have been prophetic.

Pius XII

The position of Pope Pius XII has become increasingly tragic and difficult as the war has developed in Europe. His urgent pleas for peace; his denunciations of the barbaric treatment of Poles and Czechs and other conquered minorities, millions of whom are Catholics; his sharp attacks against the ruthless forces of aggression, only to have Italy, the home of the Vatican, join these forces; all these developments have placed the Pope in a critical place.

Will Hitler, who has borne the brunt of the Pope's criticisms against aggressors and against state interference with religion, insist that his axis partner, Mussolini, deprive the Vatican of much of its sovereignty? Will the Pope continue his attacks on the savage treatment of Polish Catholics and other minorities under the German heel? Will conditions become so intolerable for the Pope in Italy that he will feel compelled to move his headquarters to some other land? These are questions which are being asked by Catholics and Protestants alike in all parts of the world.



BRITAIN COVERS A VAST TERRITORY EXTENDING TO FOUR CONTINENTS

N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE



BUILDING THE SUEZ CANAL
(From a motion picture reconstruction of the great project.)

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Development of the Suez Route

THE importance of the water route from Europe to India and the Far East via Suez—now drawn into the toils of war—has long been recognized by trading nations. As far back as the sixth century B. C., in fact, the Egyptians had laboriously scraped out a canal connecting the upper end of the Red Sea with the River Nile. During the 14 centuries which then elapsed before desert winds choked it up with sands, and finally obliterated it altogether, this canal served as the predecessor of the Suez Canal, a short sea route between east and west which, in a technical sense, turned Africa into an island.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

After the ancient method of transporting goods across the isthmus by camel caravan had been in progress for 11 centuries, and the great Moslem Empire was in its decline, western Europeans began to consider building a new canal. By 1799 the old canal had been nearly forgotten, but Napoleon, on his ill-fated Egyptian campaign, dreamed of building a new one. Others dreamed after him, but Turkey, then the master of Egypt, was interested only in the old order. Its great hour had passed and it had no enthusiasm for engineering projects.

Building the Canal

By 1854, however, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the young French engineer, had caught the ear of Said Pasha, the Turkish viceroy of Egypt, and secured his permission to form a company to build a canal across the isthmus from Suez north to the Mediterranean. Conservative businessmen shook their heads when they heard of it. But within four years, de Lesseps had formed a stock company, sold half the shares in France, a quarter in Egypt, and a scattering of them elsewhere.

He sold very few in England, because the British attitude toward the whole venture was entirely negative. Robert Stephenson, a famous engineer, said flatly that it could not be done, and as far as he was concerned, that was all there was to it. Prime Minister Lord Palmerston, fearing that other powers might make use of the short route to get at Britain's great eastern empire, declared that it should not be done.

British objections notwithstanding, the Suez Canal was built. When the first shovel struck the sandy earth in April 1859, the engineers looked forward to five years of labor and an expenditure of \$30,000,000. They finished in 10 years, having spent \$80,000,000 outright on the canal,

and enough on side ventures—such as the construction of a special canal to bring fresh water from the Nile to the arid isthmus—to raise the total to \$148,500,000.

On November 17, 1869, the French imperial yacht *L'Aigle* sailed slowly into the canal followed by nearly 70 craft from 11 maritime nations. While the hot Egyptian sun beat down, one of the most glittering pageants ever assembled in that region's long history moved slowly down the canal to Ismailia, where a lavish oriental reception was afforded by the Khedive Ismail. The following year more than half a million tons of shipping passed through that muddy 104-mile ditch.

Enter Britain

All this produced a profound impression among thoughtful Englishmen. In particular, it impressed Prime Minister Disraeli, a staunch imperialist who saw that Britain's eastern position was rapidly weakening. In 1875 he saw his chance. The Khedive Ismail was in bad financial straits, and in need of cash. Disraeli bought his share in the canal company in the name of the British government for \$20,000,000. With this voting strength, the British gained membership in the board of directors of the canal company, but still they were not satisfied. They were in a minority. Two years later, when the Khedive once more found himself hard pressed for cash, the British wrung further concessions from him, and took over control of the canal with France. As British control was extended, Egypt became restless, and finally a revolt occurred. British troops entered Egypt, and British capitalists began to talk of building a new "all-English canal." The matter was settled in 1883, when Britain suppressed the revolt, and assumed an odd sort of protectorate which left actual powers in the hands of Britain, theoretical powers in the hands of Turkey, and very little in the hands of the Egyptians themselves.

The British had taken Egypt to protect Suez. Eventually they found it necessary to occupy the Sudan to protect Egypt. During the World War they successfully fought off a Turkish attempt to reach the canal through Palestine. Subsequently their Suez hold was further strengthened by their extension of control over Palestine, Transjordan, and stretches of the Red Sea coast of Arabia, although control of Egypt itself was relinquished.

Since 1888 the Suez Canal has been an international waterway—open, that is, to the ships of all nations on equal terms. It has been immensely profitable to the British-French holders of the original shares. Britain's original investment of \$20,000,000, for example, has brought \$300,000,000 in profits, and is valued at \$275,000,000.

Personalities in the News

TODAY, the Republican party is holding its national convention at Philadelphia. As it undertakes the business of nominating candidates for president and vice-president, a nation normally interested in politics is finding it difficult, because of the situation in Europe, to concentrate on the approaching election.

The European crisis is responsible, too, for changing the plans of many party leaders. As we go to press, it is uncertain whether Republican members of Congress will be able to attend the convention. If Congress finds it possible to recess, however, Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., will hurry to Philadelphia, where he is slated to be the convention's permanent chairman.

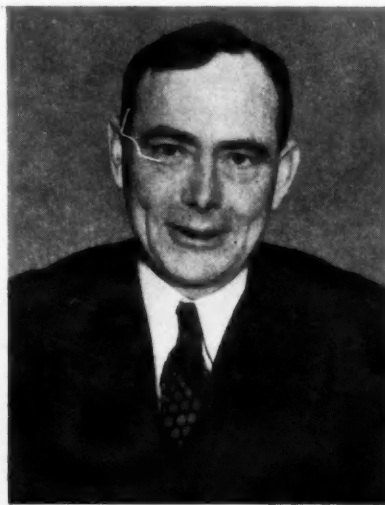
This honor came to him some months ago as the result of his outstanding work in leading the House Republicans. Although easily outnumbered by their Democratic rivals, the minority band under Martin has proved to be an effective opposition, succeeding on a number of occasions in winning legislative victories. More than once, the Democratic leaders have been dismayed to find that their followers, carelessly believing that they had a safe majority, were absent, while Martin energetically obtained a regular attendance by his group.

Moreover, Martin has promoted special studies and investigations of public problems, and surveys of public sentiment by the Republican House members. Armed with facts and statistics, they have thus been able to speak convincingly in their debates. Popular with the Democrats, last year, Martin loaned his silk top hat to Majority Leader Sam Rayburn for the reception of the King and Queen of England. That meant Martin had to appear in a derby, and listen to the joshing of bystanders. Other favors, and his general friendliness have made him well liked in the House.

When he is at home in North Attleboro, Massachusetts, Martin is the editor of the *Evening Chronicle*, the daily paper which he has published since 1908. A bachelor, he lives there with his mother, a brother, and a sister. From 1912 to 1917, he was a member of the Massachusetts legislature, serving first in the house, and later in the senate.

Looking back on his 55 years, Martin cannot lay claim to an exciting career. Between the time of his state legislative experience and 1924, he took various roles in state and national politics. Since 1924, he has been a member of the House of Representatives. For a time, the stocky, dark-haired New Englander was mentioned as a contender for the Republican presidential nomination, but this talk died out long ago.

On the other hand, he is an established figure in Republican councils, and will play an important role in mapping party strategy. If the Republicans should produce a majority in the House, he is said to be in line for the speakership.



JOSEPH W. MARTIN JR.

THE United States and Latin America in general showed mild surprise recently when, on the heels of President Roosevelt's Charlottesville announcement that American sympathy was wholeheartedly with the Allies, Dr. Getulio Vargas, the President of Brazil, declared bluntly that the days of "political democracy" had passed and that "vigorous peoples fit for life must follow the route of their aspirations." These words have been interpreted generally as an expression of approval of German-Italian policies. Coming from the head of the largest American nation south of the Rio Grande, and from one who has hitherto followed a consistently pro-United States policy, the speech alarmed some sections of the Western Hemisphere.

Getulio Vargas is no democrat. He has never pretended to be. Born in a little village in the populous southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, in 1883, Vargas established a good record as a scholar in local primary schools and then, at the age of 17, entered the army as a sergeant. But army life did not quite suit his tastes. The food, the dust, the heat, the uniforms, the dull monotony of the barracks proved too much for him. So he resigned, finally, and went back to school, emerging in 1907 with a law degree.

Vargas' political career began when he was appointed prosecutor (a sort of district attorney) for the provincial capital of Rio



GETULIO VARGAS

Grande do Sul. An astute politician, he took advantage of his every opportunity, and advancement was rapid. He passed into the national chamber of deputies, then into the ministry of finance, and then into control of a powerful political machine when he was made president of Rio Grande do Sul. It was with the aid of this machine that he was enabled to ride into the presidency of Brazil as the liberal coalition candidate in 1930.

The Vargas regime in Brazil is unique in having endured longer than any other regime since the Brazilian empire was overthrown in 1889, and in having been relatively tranquil. There were revolts in 1931, 1932, and 1935, in the northern provinces, but they came to little. A more spectacular outbreak occurred in 1938, when Vargas captured public imagination by standing in a palace window in his night clothes, blazing away at all bushes and other shadowy objects where rebels might be hiding.

The most important milestone of his rule to date was the overthrow of the constitution in November 1937, and the establishment of a dictatorship. By that move Vargas strengthened his own powers enormously. But if he has taken away some personal liberties from Brazilians, he has brought stability to a country which has long needed it, nationalized insurance, extended state control over the formerly chaotic coffee-producing business, and introduced a number of social and economic reforms.

State Department—Eyes and Ears Of Government in World Affairs

SINCE last fall, the Department of State has been in the intense glare of the national spotlight, and for months or years to come, its activities will occupy a major share of attention. On the street which runs between the White House and the department's ornate, gloomy building, the automobiles of foreign diplomats arrive and depart in increasing numbers. Not so many months ago, the department was an irregular source of major news for Washington correspondents. Now Secretary Hull's daily press conference is crowded with reporters.

For the nerve centers of our contacts with foreign governments all over the world are brought together in the huge, old building. With the help of 3,700 ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and observers abroad in 400 foreign capitals and commercial centers, the State Department is the eyes and ears of our government in world affairs. Through these representatives abroad and through the foreign diplomats stationed in Washington, D. C., the United States and other nations exchange views and information on major and minor problems. In addition, the department employs 900 men and women in the capital.

Routine Work Heavy

Even in times of peace, the department's activities involve a tremendous amount of work. There are treaties to be arranged for the President, who works with Congress and the secretary of state on matters of foreign relations. Daily reports on foreign commerce and international politics pour into the department from its foreign posts. Immigrants and foreign visitors to the United States must first see our representatives abroad for the documents which will admit them. These, and scores of other matters, such as the protection of aliens in the United States, the claims of American citizens against foreign countries, and the entertainment of foreign notables in this country, are routine work.

In recent months, however, the spread of war has heaped heavier burdens on the department. Lights in the building burn all night now, particularly in the communications division, where telegraph, cable, wireless, and telephone dispatches pour in and out 24 hours a day, seven days a week, through the hands of coding experts. And postoffice trucks load and unload bulky leather pouches of diplomatic mail.

Speeches by President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, and other officials, and their notes to foreign governments are based on this flow of information. Such channels, for example, carried the exchange of notes between Roosevelt and Mussolini, and they bring the daily reports from Ambassador Kennedy in London, Ambassador Bullitt in France, and Ambassador Phillips in Rome.

It is the Department of State, too, which has worked unceasingly to evacuate Americans from Europe, sending extra ships to

Ireland, Portugal, France, and Italy in recent weeks for the return passage of traveling citizens. Another wartime duty is the task of representing other governments in belligerent capitals, such as looking after English interests in Germany through our embassy in Berlin. In a number of foreign capitals today, the ministers and ambassadors have this additional work. Ambassador Bullitt, for example, recently transmitted the message from the French to the Germans that Paris had been declared an open, undefended city.

In this hemisphere, too, the watchful representatives of the department are busier than ever in handling the relations between our nation and the Latin American countries. At any time, the center of our interest may shift southward, drawn by changes resulting from the course of events in Europe.

Meanwhile, the State Department has the highly important task of administering our neutrality laws. And reciprocal trade agreements, although pushed into the background now, must be arranged or renewed. To carry out all these duties requires the services of experts in international law, foreign languages, trade and commerce, diplomacy, and the other arts of foreign affairs. Hand-picked, well-trained men are stationed both here and abroad to supervise the course of the United States in world affairs, in time of peace as well as in time of trouble.

Year after year, many of these men remain at foreign posts through changes of



AFFAIRS OF STATE
Secretary Hull watches the great seal of the United States being affixed to a public document.

political control in Washington. Men come and go as secretaries of state, a few of the top posts in the department change hands, and several of the ambassadorships are still regarded as political plums. But more and more the effort is being made to put foreign affairs in the hands of trained men.

Such a policy determined the recent appointment of Jay Pierrepont Moffat as minister to Canada. His immediate predecessors were ex-Secretary of Commerce Daniel Roper and James H. R. Cromwell, two men who received the ministership as a political reward. Moffat, on the other hand, is regarded as one of the outstanding career diplomats in the department.



THE STATE DEPARTMENT BUILDING IN WASHINGTON

- Straight Thinking -

Fatalism vs. Thinking

TO think straight, or to think at all, one must have the proper motivation. He must feel that something worth while *may*, or better yet, *will*, come from his thinking efforts. Without such a hope, there can be no will to delve into complex matters; to search out the truth; to labor in the attempt to arrive at sound and just decisions.

Until comparatively recent times, most people did not believe in progress. They expected to go along in grooves. They did not look upon constantly rising standards of living and of thought as being inevitable or even possible. The will to progress which has become a part of our thinking in the western world is a mighty, energizing force. It has stimulated thought among people of all levels, thereby leading to a greater variety of important discoveries in a century and a half than the world witnessed in all the ages which preceded this period.

During the last 10 years, however, there has been a dangerous trend in the other direction. A large number of people are losing the will to think. They no longer believe that progress is inevitable, that we are certain to move forward to higher levels of living and thinking. They have become fatalists, which is merely another name for defeatists. They have been won over to the philosophy of "what is to be, will be." They seem to feel that we are in the grip of powerful forces beyond our control.

This tendency is to be observed so frequently these days as to cause considerable alarm among thinking people. Many Americans, for example, have become so disillusioned over the state of the world that they are determined to close their minds, so far as possible, to the "whole mess." They refuse to give any thought or attention to how the United States may be affected by the

world crisis. They shrug their shoulders in despair when asked what they think our country should do at this time. Whatever we do, many of them say, cannot keep us out of war. We are heading inevitably and irresistibly toward conflict and strife, they insist, as they cynically depart from you with the cheering words, "See you in the trenches."

The same attitude of fatalism and defeatism makes itself apparent in the discussion of numerous other present-day problems. Many people feel that there is no use to study or think about the unemployment problem, because it is too complex for any individual to grasp. They feel that whatever thinking they may do on the subject will have no effect or influence whatever on the final outcome. Hence, they close their minds to the problem, hoping that it may work itself out in some way or other, but feeling quite skeptical that such will be the case.

Such a spirit of fatalism is unworthy of Americans. There is no reason why it should hold us in its mysterious power. We are, after all, a free people. Unlike most other peoples, we enjoy democratic privileges. We have a right to decide what our national policies shall be, and we should exercise that right. If we act in time, make ourselves strong, and adopt the right policies, there is still a good possibility that we can avoid war. But even if war for us is inevitable, and no one can say that it is inevitable, then it is of tremendous importance for the American people to think as they have never thought before in order to be prepared for whatever crisis may lie ahead.

As our civilization becomes more complex, it is obvious that we need much more thinking instead of less. It is true that there are mighty forces at play over which the individual has only an infinitesimal degree of control. But if we are to move forward to ever higher goals of living and achievement, mass thinking must keep pace. The will to progress must never submit to the spirit of fatalism or defeatism.

Certainly, the problems of today are confusing and difficult to comprehend. But that very fact should be a challenge rather than a signal to retreat behind a mask of defeatism. When a nation is overtaken by fatalism, dictatorship is inevitable. If the masses of people lose confidence in their ability to think for themselves, there is nothing for them to do but to turn this job over to a strong leader. He will do their thinking for them, denying them, naturally, every vestige of freedom and independence.

The great majority of American people still believe in progress and have not been bitten by the dangerous bug of fatalism. But those who are inclined to lean in this direction should take stock of themselves and should pursue their search for truth, justice, and higher achievement with renewed effort and determination.

- Do You Keep Up With the News? -

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 8, column 4)

1. What South American president uttered these words: "Virile peoples must follow the line of their aspirations instead of standing still and gazing at a structure that is crumbling down. Thus it is necessary to comprehend the new epoch and to remove the debris of old ideas and of sterile ideals?"

2. Turkey recently signed a trade treaty



with (a) Italy; (b) Spain; (c) Russia; (d) Germany.

3. The new minister of defense for Canada, succeeding the late Norman Rogers, is (a) G. P. Power; (b) James L. Ilsley; (c) Col. James L. Ralston.

4. Monopoly charges are being made against what major industry connected with the entertainment world? What organization is bringing the charges?

5. Name the Baltic countries recently invaded by Soviet Russia.

6. Dr. Frank Howard Lahey was elected head of the _____.

7. After Paul Reynaud resigned as head of the French cabinet, what former World War leader became premier?

8. When France asked Germany for peace, the British government proposed what plan to France?

9. Who said: "It is necessary that clouds of war planes from across the Atlantic come to crush the evil force that dominates Europe?"

10. Name the little Asiatic country which has recently signed nonaggression pacts with Great Britain, France, and Japan.

11. What nation acted as an intermediary between France and Germany when France asked for an honorable peace? Name two

possessions that country would like to have now belonging to the Allies.

12. In order to protect the Western Hemisphere, President Roosevelt has proposed a plan for a great (a) political; (b) military; (c) economic; (d) cultural union between North and South America.

13. True or false? This union would be effected under a \$2,000,000,000 Inter-American Export Corporation.

14. The United States Senate has just passed a joint resolution, 78 to 0, offered by Senator _____, proclaiming that the United States would not recognize change of title from one European power to another of "any geographic region in the _____."

15. Who is the French ambassador to the United States?

16. Name a Pulitzer prize play, dealing with life in a small New Hampshire town, which has recently been made into an excellent movie. Who wrote it?

17. What little Caribbean country has a new constitution which will become effective on September 15?



WIDE WORLD

CONVENTION TIME

National political conventions are frequently the scene of wild confusion as delegates stage enthusiastic demonstrations in behalf of "favorite-son" candidates.

GOP Convention Takes Spotlight

(Concluded from page 1)

ing candidates must be decided by the committee. The majority rule prevails in decisions made by this group.

The committee on permanent organization names the permanent chairman, secretary, and other officers, although it is almost always known in advance who these officers will be. It has long been known, for example, that Joseph Martin would be the permanent chairman. After his official appointment, he delivers an address and is then presented with a gavel. It is his task to decide points of a technical nature, and he controls the audience when it becomes unruly. His position closely resembles that of the speaker of the House of Representatives. The committee on rules guides his actions.

Party Platform

By the third day, or Wednesday, the convention will probably be ready for a report from the committee on resolutions. This group of delegates drafts the party platform. On most occasions the platforms of both parties are composed mainly of general statements and do not come out very concretely on the important issues. Usually, one has to turn to the speeches of the presidential candidates, and to the past records of the parties, for more definite expressions of opinion. Perhaps that will not be true this year, but generally it is.

The most spectacular event of the convention will likely occur on the fourth day,

which will be Thursday. The permanent chairman will call the roll to obtain names for the nomination of a candidate for the presidency. This is done in alphabetical order, thus giving Alabama the first opportunity to name a candidate. If the chairman of a state delegation has no choice for the presidency, he has the privilege of deferring to another state farther down the list. The chairman of the latter delegation then nominates someone for the position, and immediately follows the nomination with an elaborate speech praising the choice of his delegation.

Following this address, chairmen from other states may give speeches seconding the nomination, or may nominate other candidates. When the nominations have all been concluded, a vote is taken by calling the roll of the delegations. The delegations may either be bound to vote for a certain candidate, or they may be free to choose whomever they desire. The states have different methods to guide this procedure. If, after all the votes have been counted, one candidate has a majority (more than one-half of all the votes cast, which would be 501 in this case), he is the party's choice to run for the presidency.

If, on the other hand, no candidate obtains a majority on the first ballot, the delegates have to continue voting until some candidate receives the sufficient number of votes. To break a deadlock, certain delegations shift their votes until one of the candidates finally gains a majority. The selection of a candidate for the vice-presidency is similarly accomplished.

This, in brief, is a picture of how the Republican convention is tackling the work

before it. A question which is always asked at the time of a political convention is whether the majority of delegates actually represent the wishes of the majority of their party. This is a difficult question to answer. At most times, conventions probably carry out the will of the party majority in an effective manner. However, in certain cases they do not.

But this is not the fault of conventions or of the delegates who attend them. The blame must be placed on the rank-and-file of party voters who refuse to take an active part in the state primaries and conventions (elections within the parties) at which delegates to the national conventions are chosen. By not voting in these preliminary elections, party members allow a relatively few leaders in their state, who may or may not think as they do, to choose and control the delegates to represent them at the national convention.

Who Will Win?

Since the majority of states give their delegates considerable freedom in voting for candidates at the conventions, it is impossible to predict with any degree of certainty who will win the Republican presidential nomination. Thomas E. Dewey of New York and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio have more delegations pledged to them on the first ballot than any other men in the race. It is not thought, however, that either of them will have a clear majority at the beginning, and after the first ballot the delegations will probably begin to shift around at the expense of one or the other of these men, and possibly both.

Gallup polls which have been conducted among members of the Republican party show a majority of the rank-and-file of the party to be in favor of Dewey. But a contender who has been making rapid headway in recent weeks is Wendell Willkie, head of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, a large public utility company. Mr. Willkie is making a definite bid for the nomination, and his supporters are carrying on a vigorous campaign in his behalf. But it has been his own campaigning that has been largely responsible for his spectacular gains in popularity. He is a forceful speaker, possesses a sharp wit, and has an appealing personality. The following poll results, in reply to the question, "Whom would you like to see elected President?" indicate how rapidly Mr. Willkie has been winning friends and supporters within his party.

Five Weeks Ago

Dewey	67%
Vandenberg	14
Taft	12
Willkie	3
Hoover	2
Others	2

A Week Ago

Dewey	52%
Willkie	17
Taft	13
Vandenberg	12
Hoover	2
Landon	1
Gannett	1
Others	2

Of course, Mr. Dewey is still far in the lead, but many observers believe that if he is unable to obtain a majority on the first ballot he will not have as much of a chance for the nomination as Mr. Willkie. They think that there may be a band-wagon movement for Willkie after the early ballots. Whether they are right or wrong will be known shortly.

Several reasons are given for Willkie's recent rise in popularity and Dewey's decline. For one thing, it is said, the American people are coming to feel strongly that the country needs an experienced administrator to direct the national defense program which is getting under way. Mr. Willkie, as head of a great business organization, is well qualified in this respect. Many people, it is continued, feel that Dewey is too young and has not had as much experience as Willkie.

Another explanation, and one which probably carries more weight, is that Willkie has taken a more popular stand on the war issue than has Dewey. Both men have expressed their firm determina-

tion to keep the United States out of the European war, but Mr. Willkie favors all possible aid, short of war, for the Allied cause, whereas Mr. Dewey has remained a steadfast isolationist. He urges the American people to be strictly neutral. Most observers feel that his position on foreign policy has lost him support in recent weeks.

As a matter of fact, the issue of foreign policy is expected to play a decisive role in both the Republican and Democratic conventions as well as in the coming election. The Republicans are divided on this question just as the Democrats are. Many Republicans are wholeheartedly behind President Roosevelt in the stand he has taken, while many others feel that he has gone much too far and that his policies are almost certain to get us involved in war.

The Republican convention is expected to take a middle-of-the-road position on foreign policy. It will probably uphold the President for supporting the Allies, but it will likely attack him for certain "rash" statements he has made and for allowing our defenses to lag far behind the growing world crisis. At least that is the commonly predicted stand which the Republicans will take. If this position is adopted, Willkie



ON THE CONVENTION ROAD

MC MAHON IN PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN

will be in a strong position at the convention, but if the delegates veer more toward an isolationist course Dewey will gain.

Other Contenders

All this is not to say that Willkie and Dewey are the only two men who have a chance for the nomination. On the contrary, Senators Taft of Ohio and Vandenberg of Michigan are both very much in the running. They both favor material aid for the Allies, but they contend that the President has gone too far toward war.

Certain observers, moreover, feel that former President Hoover may have a chance for the nomination, or that the convention, if it is unable to agree upon one of the better-known men, may turn to a "dark horse" candidate, perhaps selected by a small group of leaders in a "smoke-filled" room. These are all possibilities which cannot be ruled out until the convention has made its decision.

On domestic issues, the Republican contestants for the nomination all take a similar position. They criticize the President for inefficiency of administration, for spending too freely, and for needless interference with, and regulation of, private business and industry. But it is generally agreed that these issues will be greatly overshadowed in the coming campaign by the momentous problems of defense and foreign policy.

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. Getulio Vargas; 2. (d); 3. (c); 4. radio. Federal Communications Commission; 5. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia; 6. American Medical Association; 7. Marshal Henri Philippe Petain; 8. plan for a Franco-British union; 9. Paul Reynaud; 10. Thailand; 11. Spain. French Morocco and British Gibraltar; 12. (c); 13. true; 14. Pittman. Western Hemisphere; 15. Count Rene de Saint-Quentin; 16. "Our Town." Thornton Wilder; 17. Cuba.

Smiles

Student: "I'm handling this plane pretty well."

Instructor: "Yeah, just keep it up."
—Santa Fe MAGAZINE

The little daughter had been sent into the living room to entertain her elder sister's young man.

"Is 'Disaster' your first name or your last name?" she asked.

Puzzled, the young man asked, "What do you mean?"

"Well," replied the little girl, "I heard mother telling dad that it was disaster that Betty was courting!"
—CLIPPED

Social Worker: "You say your love for books brought you here? How could that be?"

Convict: "Dey wuz pocketbooks, lady."
—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

He: "You always do all the talking and never listen."

She: "How ridiculous! I've heard every word I've said."
—PARADE

"Just what good have you done for humanity?" asked the judge, before passing sentence on the pickpocket.

"Well," replied the hapless man, "I've kept three or four detectives working regularly."
—CLIPPED

Bore: "What would you say if you saw me lined up before a firing squad like the man we just saw in that movie?"

Date: "Fire!"
—Los Angeles TIMES

The representative for a soap company called at the home of the contest winner.

"Good morning, sir," he said, "I am happy to tell you that you have won the big competition in our contest. The prize is \$25,000 in cash, \$15 a week for life, a world cruise, and a pet dog."

"Hm," said the winner, "what breed?"
—WALL STREET JOURNAL



COURTESY COLLIER'S